

During the last fifty years, and especially during the last half of these fifty years, the world has made great advances in the principles of liberty. Human beings have been freed from the bondage of slavery, and from the bondage of caste. Among savage nations, or nomadic tribes, the population equals the means of subsistence. Take away two, three, or four per cent of the population, and the nation would be in danger of eating pork and committing a sin at the same time.

During the last fifty years, and especially during the last half of these fifty years, the world has made great advances in the principles of liberty. Human rights are now recognized, and the practice of slavery, payment, to some extent, secured. There is not a government in Europe, even the most iron and despotical of them all, that has not participated in the ameliorations which characterize the present age. The British Empire has been the most diligent in the British Commons from the British nobility. France and Italy have been revolutionized. Even the Pope of Rome, whose power seemed as eternal as the hills which he was seated, has sunk under the shock of the French Revolution. Austria, with the exception of Austria, have been half revolutionized; and

then into bondage. Among savage nations, or nomadic tribes, the population equals the means of subsistence. Take away two, three, or four per cent of the consumers, and the vacuum is immediately supplied. On the contrary, in civilized nations of the production. Among such people, there is always a tendency to increase faster than the means of living increase. Take away a part of them, and the vacuum might be filled up by the vigor which it executes itself. It is like a bow that is drawn or a spring that uncoils, as soon as an external pressure is removed. Damp up a fountain, and the weight of the accumulating strata will eventually check the outflow, and the fountain will be empty. The population of Of them the Maltese there is a type

sure of eating pork and committing a sin at the same time.

But the subject presents a still more painful aspect. How are slaves made better, and from what motives? How are they improved, in this country? It is no secret that I am about to say that there are certain vices and sanctities which increase the pecuniary value of certain slaves; and there are certain vices and deprivations which increase the market price of others. If a man, who is a slave, is a good and confident in his master, he desires to have him honest and faithful to truth. But if he desires to make use of him to deceive and cajole and defraud, then he wishes to make him cunning and tricky and false. If the master fears

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# Selections.

From the Louisville Examiner.

## THE SOUTH.

Turn to your map, reader, and look over the South, and see what a country it is—how large, how full of resources, how capable by sea and land of reaching any point of greatness, and then ask, what she was, what she is, and what she will be?

What she was—

In earlier times, the South was the favored land. Immigration poured into it. The intelligent and noble of Europe heard chiefly of it, and into its bosom they poured their wealth, and came to repose. The ignorant they bought the wild New England said. It was the home of the 'bigot' of those who were called in scorn, Puritans; of literally the despised of the earth. Now slutt the book of history, and tell us which portion, the North or South, is to grow most rapidly? Which yield greater wealth, greater intellectuality? Which most for the world and humanity? Alas, the slave tills the soil of the South. His baleful presence desecrates it, and it lags far behind the North in every element of permanent growth and power!

Would you have proof? See it in the war of the Revolution.

The South was as brave as the North. The South was as ready to make sacrifices as the North. But the means were wanting; the men; the power to do.

be suppressed by that sovereign silence, the previous question. Hence I avail myself of the present opportunity, as it is probably the only one I shall have, during the present session, to submit my views upon it.

I frankly avow, in the outset, that the bill provides for one part only of an evil, whose remedy, as it seems to me, is not only the object of a reasonable desire, but of every citizen's duty. The bill proposes the abolition, not of slavery, but only of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. My argument will go to show that within the limits of this District, slavery ought not to exist in fact, and does not exist in law.

Sir, in the first place, let us inquire what is the state of things in this District on this subject. The gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. R. W. THOMPSON, who addressed us a few days since, used the following language:

'What is the slave trade in the District of Columbia? It is a great deal said about 'slave power'—about 'slaves sold at auction'—and about stripping the mother from the child, and the husband from the wife. These things may exist here, but I do not know of them. Since I have been a member of this District—since I have been a member of the Legislature since a negro sold here—I have never seen a negro taken off by the slave trader. I do not remember that I have ever seen the slave trader himself. I am certain that 'slave power' is so much talked about. It may be here, however, and these things may happen every day before the eyes of gentlemen who choose to hunt them up, but for myself, have no taste for such things.'

and fifty years ago. Not a single antislavery law has been passed. In practice, we are where we were then; in spirit, there are proofs that we have gone backward.

On the surface of the globe there are two conspicuous places—places which are attracting the gaze of the whole civilized world—whither men and women are brought from great distances to be sold, and whence they are carried to great distances to suffer the heaviest wrongs that human nature can bear. One of these places is the coast of Africa, whence the millions of the black race are torn from their regions of the earth; the other is the District of Columbia, the capital and seat of government of the United States.

As far back as 1808, Congress did what it could to abolish the slave trade on the coast of Africa. In 1820 it took away the trade from the United States, but on the 1st of January, 1819 a bill was introduced to the House of Representatives, which would have

If the ancestors of the present three millions of slaves had never been brought here—if their descendants had never been propagated here, for the supposed value of their services, their places would have been filled by the two millions of the Caucasian race—free-born freemen. Instead of the three million slaves, of all colors, we should doubtless now have at least three million white, free-born citizens, adding to the real prosperity of the country, and to the power of the Republic. If the South had not increased its population by the purchase of slaves from the more ingenious and inventive like the North, and would have enlisted the vast forces of nature in their service—wind, and fire, and water, and steam, and lightning, the mighty energies of gravitation and the subtle forces of chemistry. The country might not have had as good and comfortable a navigation as it now would have had, but it would have been more pure and sound.

worth five hundred dollars; suppose, in addition to this, she is young and sprightly and voluptuous; suppose the repeated infusion of Saxon blood has almost washed the darkness from her skin; and suppose she is a native of the South, and has been in the libertine's embrace; then, too, that which before was worth but five hundred dollars, will now bring a thousand. And thus infernal as well as celestial qualities are coined into money, according to the demands of the market and the uses of the purchaser. And thus, in the hands of the trafficker, and with regard to some individuals, that it can be said, that their condition is better here than it would be in Africa. And this improvement, where it exists, is not the result of any system of measures designed for their benefit, but is the product of selfish motives. Our present system of slavery, if it does not afford more gratification can be obtained by the debasement, the irreligion, the pollution of the slave, there the

the slave States and territories, 1,361,372.  
New England, 1,009,832

The slave States furnished, during the whole revolutionary war—(nine years) 50,836 soldiers for the continental army; New England, 119,305! Why this difference? It is told in fact, that the South had 675,547 slaves; the North 3,886.

What the South is!

What the character of the South is, its her capability for foreign trade by sea. Look at Virginia. What harbors and bays!—The great Washington thought Norfolk would be the commercial emporium of the world. But what is the foreign traffic of the States? Slave States, Northern capital. Northern enterprise meets Southern wealth, not for her own foreign business. Northern men, chiefly, transact it. Mark the consequence. Eight of the Atlantic States have no slaves. In 1846, they had 2,100,501 tons of shipping; the sea-board slave States only 401,583! Why, even Ohio, fifteen hundred miles from the ocean by water, had 33,947 tons of shipping. The slave States, 572,522! In other words, New York has *scarcely* thirteen hundred and thirty nine tons more than all the slave States! Is this accident? Is it the result of misallocation—misapplication of means or resource? No, it is neither! It is slavery—and slavery alone.

Let us go on further, and consider industrial im-

Now, sir, if the gentleman means to say that he has no personal knowledge of 'slave penitents,' or of 'slave penitentiaries' in this District, that he has never seen them, or that he means to deny or call in question the existence of the traffic itself, or of the dens where they are concentrated, inquiries make up the daily employment of men, that is quite another thing. Sir, from the western frontiers of this Capitol, from the piazza that opens on from your Congress Library, you can see that your eye can penetrate and over the country, the various objects of the landscape—the President's mansion, the Smithsonian Institution, and the site of the Washington Monument—you cannot fail to see these horrid and black receptacles where human beings, who are penned like cattle, and kept like cattle, that they are as much the property of the State as the oxen and swine are kept and sold at the Smithfield shambles in London, or at the cattle fair in Brighton.

In a communication made during the last session, by the Mayor of this city, to an honorable member of this House, he acknowledges the existence of slave penitents here. Up to date, however, no slave penitentiary alone the western margin of the District, where slaves come and go, bearing their freight of human souls to be vendid in this market-place; and after they have changed hands, according to the forms of commerce, they are re-transported—the father of a family go perhaps to the rice fields of South Carolina, and the children to be scattered over the sugar plantations of Louisiana or Texas.

admitted into this House to abolish the domestic slave trade in this District—here, in the centre and heart of the nation—and seventy-two Representatives voted against it; voted to lay it on the table, where, as we all know, it never comes up again. And yet those who have been Ethiopian mulattoes; and those of them whose parents were Ethiopian mulattoes; and admit, further, that their present condition is better than the alternative condition alleged,—and what then? Is your duty done? Is it enough if you have made the condition of a minor or a class of men less wretched than it was, and made it as much better as you can? What standard of morals do gentlemen propose to themselves? If a fellow-being is suffering under a hundred diseases, and we can relieve him from them all, what kind of benevolence is that which boasts of relieving him from one, and permits him to remain in the other ninety-nine? Can we give nature and of God, the slave, like every other man, is entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; he is entitled to his earnings,—to the enjoyment of his social affections,—to the development of his intellectual and moral faculties,—to that cultivation of his religious nature which shall fit him, not merely to feel, but reason and attain to eternal life. It is no argument to come,—he is entitled to all these rights, of which he has been cruelly depossessed; and when he catches some feeble glimmering of some of them, we withhold the rest, and defend ourselves and pride ourselves that he is better off than he would have been in some other country or some other clime. We are told that the slave lives on a single word, or relieved a single pang of the bleeding wayfarer who had fallen among thieves, and then had gone to the next inn and boasted of benevolence. He would only have shown the difference between a ‘good Samaritan’ and a ‘bigot Samaritan.’ The slaves

instincts of chastity, the sanctity of the marriage relation, the holiness of maternal love, are all profaned to give security and zest to the guilty pleasures of the sensualist and debauchee. There are individual exceptions to what I have said,—exceptions which add surrounding inquiry since ‘like a jewel in an Ethiop’s ear,’ but they are exceptions. Laws, institutions, and the prevailing public sentiment are as we have described.

I regard the argument, therefore, of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Bowyer) not only as utterly unsound and false in its premises, but as blasphemous in its conclusions. Common blasphemy seldom reaches beyond exclamation. It is some fiery outburst of impious passion, that flashes and expires. But the gentleman reasons it out coolly. His arguments are unanswerable, compelling us to follow him as it may appear to have force, and transforming it from the passions to the intellect, to give it permanency.

(To be continued.)

**RUSSIA.**

It did not need Napoleon’s prediction, made in his prison home at St. Helena, that ‘within less than fifty years, all Europe would be republican or Cossack,’ to inspire the minds of men, in that division of the globe, with perpetual fear of Russia, its colossal power, and supposed hostile designs. Considering the course of the despotic intrigues which have unfolded to those now existing west of the Vistula,—considering the interests of its monarch, the absolute master of one-seventh of the earth’s habitable surface, and from fifty to sixty millions of human souls—and bodies—all whose wants and sympathies are, of course, so unlike those of the free people outside,—and considering the vast resources, the excellent

But there is another inquiry which the champions of slavery have got to answer before the world and before Heaven. If American slaves are better off than those of any other country, if their condition is improved condition resulted from any purposeful plan, any well-digested, systematized measure, carefully thought-out, and reasoned out, and carried into effect by the Legislature of the United States, or by the southern statute books and legislative records, there is no trace of any such scheme. Laws, judicial de-

This tests progress. Show us a people with good roads, compact and populous neighborhoods, ample means of inter-communication, and we will show you a people with good laws, good government, good homes, and school-houses, and churches everywhere. Where is the State in the South that will compare with Ohio in this respect? Where the slave State that has public works that will begin to compare with the public works of Massachusetts or New York? The South had 2,000 miles; the cost, \$439,910.13. The North that year had 3,553 miles; cost \$112,914,465. Then ask where the capital came from to build these Southern roads? Who built them? What is their worth? It is asserted that all the railroads of the South cost \$2,835,000,000. The North alone will command \$30,341,444. But more yet. Compare the population of the North, and the effects which public improvements have upon the population of each; the mode of living among the many of both; their educational condition; their general intelligence; every-day details of their actual condition. Alas! if this comparison were made, the Southern side of the picture would be dreary and discouraging enough, and not a Southern man who

obtained naval forces from them, to assist this traffic in human beings. At the same time, the British and the Americans, in Virginia and Maryland are to the slave trade what the interior of Africa once was. The Potomac and the Chesapeake are the American Niger and Bight of Benin; while the British and the government of the United States are the slave drivers and the country to Alabama or Texas, as slave ships once bore their dreadful cargoes of agony and we across the Atlantic. The very race, then, which were first sent to enrich the country, despoiled of their rights, and brought to the land in bondage for generations, at last, after redeeming themselves, or being restored to their natural liberty in some other way, have crossed the ocean, established a government for the purpose of enriching the country to which they should cause the cheeks to blister with shame.

Sir, there is an idea often introduced here and elsewhere, and made to bear against any restriction of slavery, or any amelioration of the condition of the slave, which I wish to consider. It was brought forward by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. CHARLES BROWN,] The idea is, that the slaves are in a bet-

will not feel bound to labor for its change.' Why  
 does it then? Why not labor for its change? I  
 have said that the South will not be bound to  
 and the end of all our ills, and all our woe! Rid us  
 of that, and the South will bound up like a strong  
 man after a refreshing sleep.  
 Shall we multiply examples?  
 We need not. Yet we cannot help pointing out  
 the *Illustrations of the Slave's Condition*. In ten  
 days, yes, in less than one day, you may find at almost  
 any point within the entire State. *The morning*  
*after the election, the returns are all given in the Bos-*  
*ton papers.* How is it in Kentucky? Away from  
 our water courses and leading roads, what means of  
 communication have we? What opportunities to  
 concentrate thought—to gather the will of our people  
 into one united expression, and make it known and  
 felt throughout the land? None comparatively at  
 all! We cannot learn the full result of an election  
 for three weeks after the day it was held. We can-  
 not get the official returns for a longer period.  
 We have no newspapers, no circulating libraries, no  
 resource which the facilities Massachusetts enjoys  
 give her. The traveller goes there for pleasure.—  
 The capitalist lives there for gain. The laborer  
 makes it his home, because he is respected and can  
 educate his children, and be educated himself. What  
 of all these facilities, these inducements have we?  
 None. We can make what we have, failed  
 or been unable to develop our vast resources, sim-  
 ply because we hug slavery to our bosoms, and say,  
 'no body shall disturb it—it is ours, and we will have it!'  
 But is that the result of Kentucky? We will not  
 believe it. Her good men say rather, 'it can be cured  
 it eats up our substance; destroys our prosperity;  
 mars our progress; diminishes our social, moral, and  
 political power, and we will endure it no longer; it  
 must and shall be removed—we will no longer toler-  
 ate an institution so pregnant with evil to ourselves  
 and our posterity.'  
 But the gentleman from Indiana says, 'but for my-  
 self, I have no taste for such things.' His taste  
 pleases the gentleman from Kentucky. But Mr. Cla-  
 rison had no 'taste' for feeling the horrors of the  
 African slave trade? Suppose Howard and Mrs.  
 Fry to have had no 'taste' for laying open the abomi-  
 nations of the prison-house, and for giving relief to  
 the prisoner? Suppose Miss Dix to have had no  
 taste for the cruel conditions of the insane hospi-  
 tal to the 'taste'? Suppose the Abbe L'Epee to  
 have had no 'taste' for teaching deaf mutes to read,  
 the Abbe Hays for educating the blind? or M. Seguin  
 and others for training idiots, and for educating child-  
 ren and decency and a love of order from those al-  
 most imperceptible germs of reason and sense, then  
 barely enough to make the voice of reason heard?  
 The charities, and in what a different condition would  
 the things and the sufferings of the world have  
 been! Herod had no 'taste' for sparing the lives of  
 the children of Bethlehem, and of all the coast  
 thereof; and doubtless he could have said, with en-  
 tire truth, that he never heard the voice of Reason,  
 of lamentation and weeping and great mourning; no,  
 among all the mothers of Syria, any Rachel  
 weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted.  
 But the gentleman from Kentucky says, 'I have no

condition in this country than they were held before and been at home. It is affirmed that they are brought under some degree of civilizing and improvement, and that they would not have felt in the land of their fathers.

Let us look first at the philosophy of this notion, and then at its morality. All those who use this argument as a defence or mitigation of the evils of slavery, or as a *raison d'être* for the slave trade, are in the wrong. They profess that the million slaves who now darken our southern horizon, and fill the air with their groans, had not been here in their present state of bondage; they would have been in Africa; in a state of paganism. Now the slightest reflection on the condition of the human race in Africa, and not one of them all would now have been in existence, if their ancestors had not been brought to this country. And, according to the laws of population operative among barbarous nations, there are now just as many inhabitants—pagans, cannibals, or savages—as there were in Africa. If the spoiler had not entered their homes, and ravished and borne off their women, in spite of their resistance, and their flight, it is probable that they would have reached the slave. And after having built up all barriers to forbid the access of improvement; after having sealed his senses by ignorance, and more than half obliterated his faculties by neglect and perversion, the oppressor turns round, and because there are some slaves, he decries the improvement of the world, and the deploredness of his condition, he justifies himself before the world and claims the approval of Heaven, because the slave is better off here than he would be in Africa. Sir, such an argument as this is an offence to Heaven. It is a consideration it is to be as much as to say, "Christ crucified." And when such an argument comes from a gentleman belonging to a free State; when it comes from the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. BROWN, from a representative of the city of William Penn; when he, without motive, without provocation, without any other reason than that he can account for it only on the principle of the man who, having a keen relish for the flesh of swine, said he wished he were a Jew, that he might have the pleasure of eating his fellow-creatures.]

And here it is, in this question of the exclusion of Russia from the Atlantic through the well known channel of the Hellespont, that we find the real example of discord, the point both of interest and of compromise. It is inevitable, on which a conflict appears, and it is impossible that any ingenuity could so contrive to make the most peaceful disposition can long prevent it. With all her immense extent and population, and apparent thousands of miles of sea coast, Russia is not a great imprudent nation. She has a goodly share of the most precious of the sea,—she has a good, the best and the most valuable, avenue to it—before she can expect the real development of a prosperity and power, both as yet believed to be only in the germ. The Arctic Ocean, perfectly impracticable and useless from perpetual ice, profits her nothing; nor does the Gulf of Alaska, a narrow and shallow outlet of the sea of Ochotk, a Hudson's-bay-like gulf, only navigable at mid-bergs and does, during two or three months of mid-summer, from the Baltic, which is frozen up three or four months every year, she has the only



cal channel she enjoys for her commerce and navigation through the narrow waters of Denmark and Sweden into the stormy port of the German Ocean; the Hellespont presents an equally narrow and necessary outlet from the Black Sea—her Black Sea, as it may be called—into the ever-open navigation of the Mediterranean and the broad world-washing Atlantic. That outlet, however, is shut against Russia by the four castles of the Dardanelles and the Russian jealousy of Turkey and the great European powers. To Turkey, the surrender of the navigation of the Hellespont to such a power as Russia—to any power—would be destruction; it would be the grant of a highway to fleets and armies through the heart of the Moslem realm, and by—over—the imperial Stamboul, the capital of Turkey, the metropolis of the whole Mohammedan world. Turkey has a greater right to be jealous of the approach of Russia towards the Bosphorus than the European powers; which, however, are resolved to prevent the introduction of her ships from the navy-yards of Odessa into a field of operation where the first broadside must destroy the Turkish power in Europe, (and most probably, in Asia Minor too), and advance the Russian boundaries to the shores of the Archipelago and the Gulf of Venice.

And yet this right of way into the Mediterranean, which Turkey must refuse, and the European powers oppose, Russia must have, or consent to remain walled up in a kind of inland incarceration, offensive to her pride, injurious to her interests. If she is to stop here, vain have been all the mighty advances she has made during the last century and a half, in power, civilization, and extension of her boundary westward. This, which was an object of state, or looked forward to prospectively as such, as early as the time of Peter, in 1700—or soon will be—a political necessity of such vital character as to compel the Czar, rejecting all dissimulation, to act in open disregard of all opponents, with France and England at the head. He is, perhaps, already conscious of his ability to effect his purpose in despite of opposition, and most probably, he deems this the most favorable time. Austria is now, from the force of circumstances, his ally, and will assist the schemes of a power of which, ultimately, it may prove a distinguished victim. What has he to fear from the armory of France, still distracted, still revolutionary, still volatile?—or even from England, all whose ships can never prevent the march of Nicholas to Constantinople—to those very Dardanelles from which he can so easily repel a naval attack,—to Albania and the Morea, where, once firmly planted, the Czar, and his son and his grandsons, may reconquer, not all her ships and steamers, nor all her Malta and Gibraltar, could prevent him from assuming the entire naval command of the Mediterranean. The real question of Russian progress is dependent—wholly dependent—upon the ability of the Czar to maintain his power at home as the dominion of despotism, his own enslaved people. If we can only suppose that, at this period of revolutionary epidemics, Nicholas deems his subjects free from contagion, we have much reason to believe he has selected the present moment as the favorable one for unmaking his designs against Turkey and the throne of the Padishah.—*Philadelphia North American.*

#### MR. HANNEGAN.

The Hartford Republican gives the following account of the 'most respectable' appointment, which has so disgraced the new administration by its ready acquiescence in it, written, as the editor asserts, by one who 'knows whereof he affirms.' There are some new facts disclosed which will attract attention:

The history of this atrocious affair is as follows: Mr. Hannegan, who is widely known as one of the most unprincipled, unscrupulous, and ill-bred demagogues that ever disgraced the Senate chamber, was dropped by the Legislature of Indiana, at their late session, upon the express ground of his dissolute character, and his vote against the Wilnot Proviso, and a Free Soil Democrat elected in his place. He now drew himself upon the sympathy of Southern Senators, as a martyr to Southern rights, upon the sympathy of his Northern wine-bibbling brethren, as a boon companion in disgrace. It was resolved that he should be comforted and rewarded. A Whig Senator from North Carolina, at the last night of the session, urged President Polk to nominate this man to the office of Secretary of the Interior. The request was supported by one, and it is believed both, of the Whig Senators from Rhode Island! Mr. Polk long refused. It might be that such a proceeding staggered even him; but more probably it was on account of Hannegan's attack upon him in the Oregon matter. But the importunities of Whig Senators prevailed. Mr. Polk yielded at half past six, on the morning of Sunday, 4th of March, and sent in the nomination to the Senate.

The evening before, Hannegan had sent to the Senate chamber, (or some antechamber near it), several baskets of oranges, and a large quantity of wine, whose opposition was feared, had been plied with this and stronger drinks, until they were incapable of remaining in their seats, while others had retired upon solemn assurances by Hannegan's friends, that no more nominations would be sent in; others, parties of course, to the minister to Berlin, and themselves, in order to dodge the responsibility of acting openly in the matter. Only sixteen Senators, barely one-half of a quorum, remained in their seats when the nomination was received; and among those, there was not one who dared to raise his voice against this shameful abuse of executive patronage, or even to ask for a division, which would have shown by the record that no quorum was present.

After the session terminated, Hannegan, with some of his Senatorial friends, and other low persons, repaired to the apartments of a Senator from the State of New York, (Mr. Benton), and a great part of the Sabbath in celebrating, with brandy and orgies, the triumph they had achieved. The hero in this revolting scene soon became insensible, and his companions darning frantically yells of rejoicing, and with maddening senseless expressions of drunken joy embracing each other, and the poor unconscious brute in whose honor they were met.

The facts and the circumstances soon became known to General Taylor, and did not fail to arouse his indignation. He determined instantly to revoke the appointment, but he was deterred by his Cabinet, and in this obedience to the cabal who procured Hannegan's nomination, and it is believed in no small degree through the influence of John J. Crittenden, who is known to have written a letter insisting that Gen. Taylor should quietly submit to this insult to himself and his country, and sanction this most disgraceful appointment. Gen. Taylor has at length surrendered! Hannegan's appointment has been confirmed. Gen. Taylor's Secretary of the Treasury has paid him his outfit and salary, and he now goes, by the authority of Gen. Taylor himself, in disgrace, in the eyes of Europe, this great country, to which he has so long been a shame at home!

#### SOUTHERN PROPOSITION

IN REFERENCE TO THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN CALIFORNIA.

The chivalry of the South does not slumber. In vindication of their rights, whether substantial facts or constitutional abstractions, the Southern ruler court than evade the contest. It is apparent that unless the South take immediate and efficient steps for the introduction, by emigration, of their peculiar institution into California, they will be overwhelmed by the adventitious population of the North—that the territory will be formed into a State, with a constitution superseding any necessity for a territorial act from Congress for the exclusion of slavery. It is certain, unless the South introduce their peculiar institution into California while yet the country is unorganized, that it will be excluded by the act of Congress. Seizing upon this palpable indication, Mr. Robert T. Howard, of Columbus, Georgia, has issued a prospectus, or *pronouncement*, for the organization of a company of the young men of that State for the Sacramento, and says:

I propose to all who are disposed to visit or emigrate to California, to organize a company, in the name of law, alone can secure to them the full enjoyment of their constitutional rights.

1st. It is proposed to associate, in a large company, say from three to five hundred men, if there be that number in the State disposed to engage in the expedition.

2d. That no man be permitted to join, who is not physically capable of enduring privations and hardships; and it is indispensable to the success of the undertaking, that each man be a man of integrity, sobriety and courage.

3d. That each member shall take with him at least one, and not more than three, slaves.

4th. That each member supply himself with ample means of defraying the expenses of himself and his

negroes on the route, and for three months after reaching the gold mines.

5th. To secure to individual industry and enterprise their just reward, it is proposed that each member, after reaching the place of destination, select such employment as may be congenial with his taste or talents; but the association shall continue for one year after arriving in California, for the purpose of promptly protecting and defending the persons and property of its members.

6th. That in the event of sickness of any member, it shall be the duty of the whole association to consult his comfort and safety, and in case of his death, to take care of his property, and return it, together with what he may have acquired, to his legal representatives.

7th. For the purpose of preserving order, and proceeding with system and efficiency, it is proposed that the association form itself into a semi-military corps, by electing officers or leaders, and pledging themselves, individually and collectively, to be governed by the rules which they shall enact in general council before setting out on the journey.

8th. The object being to enjoy the rights, in common with other citizens, in a territory which belongs to the people of the United States, without distinction of color, it is proposed that each member be well armed, and while abstaining from all innovations upon the rights of any one, be prepared to repel any and all aggressions.

The only point of importance in this prospectus is the third article—that each member shall take with him at least one, and not more than three, slaves—in connection with the eighth article, which requires the member to be well armed, for the defence of their slave property against all aggressions, 'in a territory which belongs to the people of the United States, without distinction of sections.'—*New York Herald.*

**SLAVES ON THEIR WAY.**—The Wetumpka (Ala.) Guard, of the 27th ult., says:

'We are pleased to witness that the citizens of the Southern States are taking their own hands, so far as regards the establishment of slavery in California. Already we have learned of some hundred or more slaves being sent to that territory, from different parts of the slave States. Some single or seventy have been sent from one parish in Louisiana, by two men. Almost every man who owns negroes, and has gone to that country, has carried one or two with him. Mr. Phillips, who passed through Mobile a few days since, carried with him a negro boy, and we learn that Judge Bird, who left Cahawba a short time since, also took "Jack," from whose able fingers the Judge no doubt calculated on receiving many lumps of the genuine article.'

**SLAVES FOR CALIFORNIA.**—The Washington Era informed that several hundred slaves had been sent out from the South for California, and that individuals, as well as companies, from that section, are taking slaves with them; one company passed through Washington the other day with eight or ten slaves. Arrangements are in progress in this country for the establishment of a colony in California, to advocate the pro-slavery side of the Territorial question.

¶ We beg leave to add our emphatic approval of every word in the following commendatory notice, and to urge upon all uncompromising abolitionists the duty of giving the Standard a wide circulation.

#### THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

We regret to say, that the organ of our National Society does not receive such support as the interests of our cause require, and its own high character and uncompromising fidelity merit. It is far from creditable to the moral sentiment and literary taste of the American people, that while so many soulless and trashy literary papers and magazines are growing rich upon their circulation, this Standard is a bare sustenance. All around it are papers of almost every class, far inferior to it in editorial ability and general literary character, inferior to it in the solid value, freshness and variety of their selections, and still further below it in moral tone and humanitarian spirit, as a truly national and patriotic Standard. We do not like to think it is because of these very deficiencies; but we strongly suspect that, if the Standard had abandoned its principles, and sought popularity by pandering to prejudice, popular views, and false tastes and customs, it might, with a trifle of its present talent, have found a large patronage, and it now receives. That pro-slavery Standard, without their support from a fearless anti-slavery sheet, whatever its other merits, is surely to be expected, but it surely becomes abolitionists, and those who sympathize with our movement, to sustain so valuable a talent, have a tenfold greater patronage than we now receive. That pro-slavery Standard, without their support from a fearless anti-slavery sheet, whatever its other merits, is surely to be expected, but it surely becomes abolitionists, and those who sympathize with our movement, to sustain so valuable a talent, have a tenfold greater patronage than we now receive. That pro-slavery Standard, without their support from a fearless anti-slavery sheet, whatever its other merits, is surely to be expected, but it surely becomes abolitionists, and those who sympathize with our movement, to sustain so valuable a talent, have a tenfold greater patronage than we now receive.

During the eight years of its existence, the Standard has done much to produce that happy change in public sentiment, which excites the hope and rejoices the hearts of all abolitionists, and for them now to permit it to perish or languish on, with a half support, is both ungrateful and unwise. Our enemies would exult in its fall with as much triumph in proportion to their present fear of its bold truth and honest rebukes, and many a region into which it has carried the gospel of reform would be left in comparative darkness. But let every abolitionist resolve that it shall be sustained, and it will be, and no one will wish to see it fall. It is a Standard, however, that we ask for it. Its circulation and usefulness ought to be, and may be, greatly enlarged beyond those limits. Will not our friends everywhere join in an effort to increase that circulation? The interests of our cause, and the peculiar circumstances of the present time, demand it. Let us not, just as we have mellowed the soil for the seed, shall we recall the sowers from their work? As men begin to thirst for the truth, must we renege our means for proclaiming the truth? It will be a miserable economy, and if pursued would be ruinous.

The many extracts from the Southern press recently published in the Standard, give fresh and important evidence that the influence of that paper is widely felt, and that the day of its downfall would be a jubilee to the slaveholders. If the abolitionists of the North wish to make the influence of that paper, the organ of their enemies, they are losing their power, and diminishing in numbers, they can do so by withholding sustenance from the National Anti-Slavery paper, the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

**ROMANTIC RATHER.** An incident in real life has lately been the subject of common talk in the North, and in giving it a wider publicity, we are not conscious of doing wrong; indeed, those who have requested to see it 'in print,' may charge us with neglecting to furnish the 'news,' if it is withheld. We shall therefore give an outline of the story, as told by the Standard reader to color it with the hues of fancy. A woman at Herring River, whose husband is a sailor, had seen the appointed time for her partner's arrival home, pass by without his return. One, two, three, four years passed, and still he came not. Whether hope deferred made the heart more impatient, or not, we cannot say, but she learned from the sequel. Tired of her single blessedness, however, she again plighted her troth to a second man, and everything seemed to bid fair for the consummation devoutly to be wished. On Sunday last, their 'intention' was duly posted by the town clerk. During the ceremony, however, the young man's husband returned to disappoint the anticipations of at least of the parties concerned. It appears that the man's detention abroad was occasioned by incarceration in a Southern prison, on a charge of endeavoring to free a slave. In his account of the matter, he says that the mate of the vessel, in which he was coming home, secretly took on board, and then leaving the harbor, the craft got aground, and acting under the impression that the vessel would be visited and a search made for the runaway, the mate told the captain that the narrator had enticed the slave away. Thereupon the two latter were ordered to be put on shore, and given up to the authorities. Our hero, being a colored man, was at once provided for by the hospitable Southerners; and for three long years the walls of a dungeon enclosed him, preventing all communication with his friends. He now arrives home with an unfettered body, and we trust his state of mind will excite the compassion of those of his neighbors who are able to make him comfortable.—*Sandwich (Mass.) Observer.*

## The Liberator.

BOSTON, APRIL 27, 1849.

### No Union with Slaveholders!

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the TABERNACLE, BROADWAY, NEW-YORK, on TUESDAY, the 8th day of MAY next.

The Annual Meeting of the American Society is the most important anti-slavery meeting held any where during the year.

The ANNIVERSARY at the TABERNACLE represents to the country at large the progress, the efficiency, and even the existence, of the Anti-Slavery cause. It is to vast numbers of people, the only sign of the continued zeal and spirit of the Abolitionists, whose local meetings they never hear of.

The BUSINESS MEETINGS of the Society have always brought together in counsel a larger number of Abolitionists from various parts of the Northern States than is ever convened on any other occasion. The general interests of the cause command, at that time a consideration which at no other can be given them.

It has never, since the formation of the Society, been more apparent than at this moment, that the Anti-Slavery cause is left where it ever has been, in the hands of the members of the American Society.

There is as yet no reason to suppose that Slavery will ever be abolished, except through its efforts.

The general impression of the annual meeting, and the aspect of the cause at this moment, gives us every thing to hope for if we persevere—every thing to fear if we falter—appeal alike loudly to Abolitionists, all over the land, to make the ensuing Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY one that shall do more even than any previous one has done to drive the South to despair in defence of its felonious system of society, and the North to a more determined attitude, than any portion of it has ever yet ventured to assume in defence of its own rights, and the assertion of the rights of the slave.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.  
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Secretary.  
S. H. GAY, Corresponding Secretary.

#### PLAN OF HENRY CLAY.

We copy the following article from the Boston Republican, without request, as we desire to treat it fairly and justly.

MR. J. T. EVERETT writes to the Liberator an earnest denunciation of the Republican for the reason, apparently, that we were too modest to sit in judgment on the projects of emancipation before the people of Kentucky, by Mr. Clay and others. Well, we trust we have no ambition to play Jeremy Bentham, by framing constitutions for all States and Nations. There is a distinction between the duty of individual slaveholders towards their slaves, and the duty of those who attempt to do away with the legal fabric by which emancipation is rendered next to impossible. The latter must often move cautiously, and we think it enough to indicate the defects of such plans, without needlessly opposing them. The time, to make a beginning—the rest will follow in due time.

We have neither endorsed, nor criticized in detail, Mr. Clay's project. Its defects are manifest. Its injustice is apparent. We do not suppose a man in New England approves it, or imagines it can be carried into effect. It is fortunate that it is impracticable as it is unjust. But those in Kentucky who are struggling against slavery, and are he best judges of the necessities of the present time, hail it with satisfaction. And reasonably, because a union of all who are not in favor of maintaining slavery forever is needed, in order to check the enormous power of the original enemies of the slave, and although as an important one, however lightly it may be esteemed by some who are obstinately determined that nothing shall be done, if they can prevent it, unless all can be done, at once. If any see in this infidelity to the great principle of immediate emancipation, we regret their original error, but cannot without greater reasons than have yet been adduced, change our position. The sincerity of those in the Slave States, who are moving for either immediate or gradual emancipation, cannot be doubted. Justice to them requires that they should be encouraged, rather than rebuffed. We cannot overlook the imperfections of the slave oligarchy. We recognize such in an end, and while we believe true wisdom, as well as charity, dictates this course, we shall inflexibly adhere to it.

The Republican is mistaken in supposing it meets the strictures of Mr. Everett by a reply so disingenuous. What folly for a professed anti-slavery journal to talk of being 'too modest to sit in judgment on the projects of emancipation before the people of Kentucky, by Mr. Clay and others!' And what an evasion of the issue presented by Mr. Everett, to claim to have 'no ambition to play Jeremy Bentham, by framing constitutions for all States and Nations!' The plan of Henry Clay, for the emancipation and expatriation of the slaves of Kentucky, is cruel, atrocious, and delusive; and the true advocate of the slave will reject it with indignation and abhorrence. It is the imperative duty of the people of Kentucky to give the slaves in that State immediate and unconditional emancipation—and any plan or project short of this, whether intended as a part of the new Constitution or otherwise, is to be reprobated as fraudulent and criminal, even though it may not be so bad as something still more wicked.

Here are proceedings which show that conscience is beginning to operate in Kentucky. See what is said of slavery—yet Henry Clay is a slaveholder!

#### PUBLIC MEETING.

In pursuance of notice, a meeting of those of the citizens of Lexington, and Fayette County, opposed to the perpetration of slavery in this Commonwealth, was held in the City Hall on Saturday, the 14th April, when, on motion, Mr. Oldham was called to the chair, and W. A. Dudley appointed Secretary.

The object of the meeting having been explained in a few eloquent remarks by Hon. Henry Clay and John C. Hall, J. C. Hall, Esq., called the meeting to order, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. This meeting, composed of citizens of the County of Fayette, and of public notice, to consider the question of the perpetration of slavery in this Commonwealth, considering that hereditary domestic slavery, as it exists among us:

1. Is contrary to the rights of mankind;

2. Is opposed to the fundamental principles of free government;

3. Is inconsistent with a state of sound morality; 4. Is hostile to the property of the Commonwealth, and therefore of opinion, that it ought not to be made perpetual, and that the Convention called to meet to amend the Constitution of this State, affords a proper occasion on which steps should be taken to ameliorate the condition of slavery, in such way as shall be found practicable in itself, just as regards the masters of slaves, and beneficial to the slaves themselves.

II. In order to concert with those who agree with us, throughout the State, a plan of action suitable to be adopted on this occasion, and to agree with them upon a common platform of principles, this meeting appoints the following citizens, and recommends to as many others as are of similar sentiments, and can conveniently attend, to meet in Frankfort, on the 25th inst., delegates from other parts of the State, similarly appointed, for the purpose herein expressed:

Edw. Oldham, Sam. Shy, M. C. Johnson, R. J. Beckridge, H. P. Lewis, Abr. Vannatter, C. H. Barkley, John C. Hall, John C. E. Dudley, Geo. K. Trotter, Wm. Rodes, Jas. H. Turner, Wm. Pullen, John W. Clark, Carter R. Harrison, O. D. Wims, Geo. W. Suiston, John Steel, Warren Outten, S. D. McCullough, John T. Bruce, J. J. Hunter, Wm. Wallace, R. Fiddell, Jack Astor, Geo. F. Joets, Matthew T. Scott, T. Dolan, B. Kerr.

III. Upon their return from Frankfort, the delegates now appointed shall have power to call a public meeting, and make report of their proceedings, at which meeting, the question of nominating suitable persons to represent this County in the Convention shall be taken into consideration.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.  
EDWARD OLDHAM, Chairman.  
W. A. DUDLEY, Secretary.

### LETTER FROM EDWARD SEARCH.

'NEWS FROM INDIA.'

LONDON, March 5, 1849.

We are in great anxiety here, in consequence of news from India, showing that the Sikhs have given the English forces a good thrashing; and though it is called a victory on our part, the apprehensions which are expressed for the safety even of Calcutta, and the vituperation that is thrown out against Lord Gough, an old soldier of that name, who was made a Lord the other day as a reward for his share in a former slaughter, indicate that the victory is not enjoyed with any great gusto. Here is what is said in a leading article of this day, March 5th, in the 'Daily News,' one of the leading journals. I give you extracts only:—

If Government, and the East India Company, and the people of the country with war—the instruments and mode with which it is carried on—certainly could not have combined a more horrid and revolting spectacle than that offered by the military efforts of the Punjab. Here are Englishmen, and an English army, in the nineteenth century, making war in the same savage way as the first barbarians that clothed themselves in skins. If war could by any means be ennobled or excused, it would be as a science, which decided conflicts with insignificant loss of human life, which conquered by skill and by the application of the mind to strategy. But here we see 24,000 men, under British colour, flung rather than led into a jungle by a blundering general, from the mere impulse of haste and passion, without judgment or preparation, or manœuvre or idea, ordered to conquer, by brute force, and met by barbarians who showed far more skill and coolness—these could not show more courage. The jungle of the Shelum presented the aspect of the Roman circus on a *feite day*, that of an idle and indiscriminate butchery, disgraceful to a civilized country, and to a government that professes to exercise something like reason and foresight.

About four o'clock, therefore, in the afternoon, the action virtually commenced by an advance of the left wing of the British army under General Campbell. In this advance, the troops became exposed to the fire of several Sikh batteries, and aided by the difficulty of the ground, the ignorance of the British of the disposition of the enemy, and the absence of any effectual provision for following up the attack of our own infantry, the brigade of General Campbell, after a most brilliant display of valor, were compelled to fall back upon the main body. It was in these operations that Major's 34th regiment of Foot sustained their severest loss—a loss without any parallel in Indian warfare, if we except the annihilation of the 44th Foot in the retreat from Cabool. Out of a force of 800 men, the 24th regiment have sustained a loss in this single engagement of 10 officers killed, and 12 wounded; and 318 soldiers killed, and 24 wounded. A total therefore of 336 men placed *hors de combat* out of 800, is the result in one single regiment of the disastrous arrangements of Lord Gough.

Precisely the same gallant conduct and the same unfortunate issue distinguished the attacks made by the right wing of the British army, and although in none of the other regiments engaged was the sacrifice of life so great as in the 24th. The cavalry posted on the extreme right of the line, consisting of the 15th Light Dragoons, and the 5th Bengal Cavalry, appear from some cause or other to have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and are said to have retired from the field in great disorder.

There is the most abundant evidence, however, that along the whole of the line, extreme embarrassment and severe loss were occasioned by the total ignorance of the British officers of the posture of the enemy's defences, and of their character; by the obstacles of the jungle, and by the absence of any adequate degree of concert between the several divisions and the various services of the army. And when we are informed that the position of the Sikhs extended over a front of three miles in extent, was flanked by batteries at most irregular intervals, and that in places the jungle was so thick as to separate and interfere with the order of the advancing columns, we can be at no loss to understand that the battle was fought under circumstances in the highest degree disadvantageous to the assailants.

When the daylight was suspended, both armies retired to their original positions, and although it is true that the Sikhs have subsequently taken up a position nearer the Shelum, it cannot be said that their strength is in any essential respect impaired by the action of the 13th of January. They lost but twelve of their own guns, and they captured four of the Sikhs; but the loss of the Sikhs, and the casualties in their camp are heavier than those in our own.

The article then goes on to denounce the generalship, to scold the General, and in the usual way assumes to judge of the war, and to show how clever the writers would, or could, have been, had they been there to see. The truth is, that we are teaching the Indians how to whip us. We have long taught them to distrust our government, by treating them always as conquered people, and ruling by fear, instead of seeking their affections through justice. I here send you an extract from a correspondent of the same paper, in which you will see the state of the native feelings and of the English apprehensions:—

CALCUTTA, Jan. 20, 1849.

I am induced to address you on the subject of the fear and agitation into which the European inhabitants of Calcutta are now in, from the dread of a visit from the Nepaioise, and if they really are intent upon the conquest of the Punjab, there is no possibility of any available force to oppose them. The Nepaioise are said to be 60,000 strong, well armed and equipped, and are now close to, or probably while I write this, have already crossed, our frontier. Our native population in this city is 600,000, to a man, and they have no arms, and no money, and no power. What think you of our resources, in this great metropolis of India literally unprotected? So great is the want of troops here, that the authorities have interdicted the embarkation of the invalids for England. On the morning of the 10th instant, the *Pennsylvania* was despatched to Madras for troops, to bring up as great a number as the vessel could possibly convey, and in light marching order. Her return may be expected in three days from this.

I regret to say that it is a well-known fact, that a great number of Sikhs and other spies are in Calcutta even now, and that large quantities of arms and ammunition have been secretly conveyed hence for the use of the enemy. Within the last three years, Mr. M. Cann, the superintendent of police, and a party of his men, seized in two native vessels a few miles above Calcutta, four pieces of artillery, seven or eight hundred rounds of ammunition, and covered with grain. By whom these pieces were shipped remains a mystery. The government are on the *qui vive*, and are taking every precaution. That they are in possession of information of serious import there is no question, but every thing is done to allay the fears of the timid. The government have had a party at work for several days past, dismounting the whole of the artillery and mortars taken from the Sikhs, in the last war. These guns, since their arrival here, have been lying in the ordnance-yard, not one hundred yards from the river side, and adjoining the high ground on which the city stands, and the whole of the pieces placed in a position to be readily and easily carried off, without the least fear of interruption.

If the Goorka chief be disposed to offer our territory, he will find a hearty welcome from the natives, and but for troops to oppose him or his troops in the march here; and we may awake one day with the enemy knocking at the very gates of Fort William; but I do not think that the wily chief will venture down here. I see nothing to prevent his marching into and ravaging Tirhoot, Purnah, or even Dinazpur, (all these are sugar-growing districts), and here he can march backward and forward, and sack these districts as he pleases, and return to his hill-fastnesses before we could catch him.

The article then goes on to complain of the arrangements which, under the influence of greediness for empire, have left the residents unprotected. There is one wish, which the success of the democratic principle in the United States is often suggestive to the minds of many in the old country, and that is, that the Americans were a little nearer to Europe, and could aid the people of Europe in their efforts to emancipate themselves from the despots under which they are enthralled. The Romans you see have established a democracy without bloodshed, save one unfortunate man, and the despots, particularly Aus-

tria, are now preparing to invade them, and to enter Italy. The French have, it seems, determined not to interfere to sustain Democracy, and the kings are left to conspire to maintain despotism. The principle of non-interference is now sounded forth by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, both of England and France, whenever aid is wished for the people; but they do nevertheless interfere greatly, and effectively, to support the kings and aristocracies. Charles Albert, the king of Sardinia, and the people to all the horrors inflicted by a triumphant soldiery, and the despotism of military despots.

You can hardly conceive of the earnest aspirations of good men here for the success of liberal principles in fair Italy. You will remember meeting our friend Mazzini when you were at my place in England. He left for the continent when there appeared a hope of his being useful to the cause and his countrymen. He is ever earnest and faithful to the people. He is now at Rome. During the last winter, one of my daughters crossed the Alps, on foot part of the way, when other modes of communication could not be risked, and was successful in the object for which she went.

The cause of Italy, and the desire I have to see the Austrian army put down, sets aside the inclination I have often felt to recognize the doctrine of non-resistance. It arrays my feelings against passivity; and though I have wished, when I have read rest-peace, to believe, Austrian misdeeds place me constantly in the situation of that man, who said, 'Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief.' The feelings are against what may perhaps be the sounder struggles of judgment. Who can review the designs of Austria against mind and humanity, and reflect on the destruction of the good and the noble, and the suppression of the good germination, and not feel aroused to aid in meeting so much evil, and desiring the overthrow of such principles and powers? The following extracts will illustrate my meaning:—

There was an insurrection in Italy, in 1820—in Naples, the property of the King of the Two Sicilies. It was put down by Austrian intervention. There was an insurrection in Italy, in 1821—in Piedmont, the property of the King of Sardinia. The present king, Charles Albert, prince of Carignano and heir to the throne, was implicated in the movement, was his nominal leader. Austria interfered; the insurrection was put down.

Austria was alarmed for her own property in Italy. Silvio Pellico, Marconelli, and others, were conductors of and contributors to a journal of no special political purpose, but which aimed at raising the Italian character; they being Italian patriots, and not Austrian subjects, desiring the regeneration of Italy. They went so far as to conduct their literary criticisms in a more than usually liberal and comprehensive spirit. This was treason under the paternal rule of Austria. So Pellico and Marconelli were condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment in the fortress of Spielberg. Pellico's account of his sufferings, written with the utmost caution and forbearance, has been widely published. Most of our readers are probably acquainted with it, and have read of his tortures under the 'Leads' in Venice under the hot sun of an Italian summer, tormented by everlasting swarms of gnats; his removal to a cold damp cell when the winter approached; his bare board for a bed at Spielberg; his prison diet of black bread and stale hard water called broth; his books taken from him, forbidden to speak to his fellow prisoners, stripped naked periodically to be searched by his jailors; his fearful bodily illnesses and mental agonies; these need not here be repeated. One need only suffice to show all the means by which Austrian supremacy has been maintained in Italy.

The confinement in Spielberg has caused a tumor in Marconelli's knee. In the beginning, the pain was not excessive, only compelling him to go lame. Afterwards, he had difficulty in dragging his foot. The tumor grew daily worse, increased to an enormous size, and in painfulness, Leeches, issues, caustic, fomentations, only increased the pain. The tumor became an entire wound. He could neither sleep nor eat, and grew frightfully emaciated. What he suffered during nine long months it is not possible to describe. At length the physicians declared that it was necessary to amputate the leg. He was asked if he had courage to undergo the operation. He was ready. But they had to wait eight days for permission from Vienna. Eight days! And when the permission arrived, and when the leg was off, the surgeon found that the tumor was not removed, but had been made in the prison. The sufferer had to wait two hours while they sent into the town for bandages. The wretched cripple remained in prison on his crutches.

There was a conspiracy in Piedmont, (which is not called Austrian), in 1838, not an insurrection, but a conspiracy, which was prevented from breaking out. A few words, imprudently uttered in a quarrel, gave King Charles Albert (the same Charles Albert who was concerned in and betrayed the insurrection of 1821) a clue to the conspiracy. Struck with terror, knowing his own unpopularity, he adopted terror as his system, and was prepared by wholesale, wherever there was the slightest suspicion. The conspiracy was so general, that conjecture could hardly fail to hit upon some seriously compromised. Then commenced, under the auspices of the present king, a series of horrors worthy of the worst days of military despotism. Military commissions were appointed. The prisoners of Genoa, Turin, Alexandria, Chambery, every where, indeed, were filled; only intervals were allowed to elapse between the arrests at different cities, in order that an air of probability might be given to the report that the arrests were made in consequence of information divulged by different prisoners. Out of the most innumerable columns were circulated, to excite the public mind against the victims. Within the prisons, every thing which hatred and villainy the most experienced could devise was brought into operation, to obtain confessions and accusations of complicity. Some were told that they were to be hanged, and they would be pardoned if they denounced their companions. Others had poison (atropos belladonna) infused into their drink, to weaken their nervous system, and so break down the stubbornness of their minds. Others had pretended conspirators placed in their cells, to warn them in the night, and to betray under the guise of sympathy. One man, Miglio, who was betrayed by this process, had a man thrown into his dungeon, who, with tears in his eyes, lamented his implication in the conspiracy, more than all regretting that he could find no materials for writing to his family, though he knew that the means of communication. Miglio opened one of his own veins, and wrote a few words with his blood.

This letter was the main evidence on Miglio's trial; and on such evidence, so obtained, he was condemned to death. Galster, the governor of Alexandria, had sought to extort a confession from the accused, named Voccheri. Irritated by his refusal, he loaded him with insults. After his sentence, he again urged him to confess, saying, that so urging him he was doing the best he could to serve him. 'Is to rid me of your odious presence?' Then, upon Galster killed the chained man, the abolitionist. The only favor demanded by Voccheri was that, in marching to the scaffold, he might not be compelled to pass his own house, wherein were his wife—then pregnant—his sister, and his two little children. It was refused him. His sister has been mad ever since.

Among the prisoners was a young man named Jacobo Ruffini. He had been warned of his arrest, and advised to fly. He replied, that those whose hands had led others into danger ought to be the readiest to die. Arrested, questioned, pressed, he consented to die with smiling. The day he was called before the Auditor of War, who said to him—'You are a brave young man! You have worked for good, and you have the appearance of a man engaged in a noble cause. But see! you have believed yourself leagued with a band of heroes; and it is only a troop of cow







